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577 The observation with which Im Thurn introduces his discussion of the social life of the Guiana tribes, "The Indian in his natural state, before he feels the influence of white man is of decidedly admirable morality" /cited in English/, is also true in its full extent for the Karaya. This natural morality, completely independent of religious beliefs, makes the existence of a primitive community such as theirs possible. It expresses itself in the [576] scrupulous observation of the commandments of external propriety (1), which does not escape even the casual visitor, but,

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1. Of culture-historical interest and typical of the feeling of propriety of these savages is the manner of their defecation. It occurs as far as possible from the village. A hole is made in the sand. The individual sits on it with outstretched legs, hiding the upper body behind a small mat. The excrement is always carefully buried.

above all, in the exemplary conduct of family life. The ●593 solidarity of the family group, which even Martius, rashly 607 generalizing from his observations among demoralized tribes, denied that the Americans possessed at all, has quite truly given this people the moral support which has prevented its decline up to now, despite a century of contact with civilization and, hopefully, will hold it off for a long time to come.

The Karaya family seems, according to its form to be a "mother family." The following facts speak in favor of this:

1. The married man does not eat with his family, but with that of his married sister. Accordingly, he is considered a member of his sister's family.

2. Likewise in the division of the hunting spoils he receives his share, not in his own house, but in that of his sister.

768 3. The children of a widower are cared for by his parents- 589 in-law, while he himself re-enters the ranks of the bachelors. 606

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582 4. The marriage of Karaya women to foreigners is permitted only when the latter allow themselves to be adopted into the tribe and take up permanent residence in the village concerned, a case which in Castelnau's time was not at all rare, but could hardly occur today.

593 562 Although the husband is naturally in charge as head of the family, the position of the wife is a completely honorable one. There is no trace of the degradation of women into beasts of burden, as has been falsely imputed for all Indians by analogy with the North American tribes. Certain tasks, to be sure, are performed exclusively by the women and they are tireless in fulfilling their manifold duties. The man, too, however, has his share to perform. His wife is his complete equal; he does nothing of importance without her advice. Even the chief shares his honors with his wife. Mistreatment of women is unheard of.

595 Monogamy is the usual thing. The husband, however, not uncommonly finds it necessary to take a second wife when the [582] first one becomes too old. This is conditioned by the peculiar [171] custom, widespread, it seems, among all South American tribes (2), that the young men court older women and the old

[113] 2. Cf. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 223.

men younger ones. Perhaps the relatively small number of children can be traced to this.

847 Artificial abortion occurs, but only on the demand of the husband. It is brought about by pressing the uterus together with the hands and is said to cause death not uncommonly.

586 If married people do not get along, the husband is allowed 587 to trade off his wife for that of another. Anyone who repudiates his wife cannot marry again, but is allowed to have a housekeeper.

684 The husband himself punishes an adulterous wife by a beating or burning her with glowing wood. Sometimes (3) the guilty one

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Selvagem, p. 116.

is said to be even burned to death.

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584 and the suitor must also work for the father-in-law (?). During the engagement, the bridegroom, along with the young men, builds the house. This subsequently becomes the property of the woman, who, after the wedding, pays off the builders. The bride, however, apparently provides the furnishings, the sleeping mats, pots, etc.

585 I obtained only unclear reports about the wedding ceremony. Thus, the grandfather is said to carry the bridegroom, painted and adorned, into the house of the bride and back again. The suitor, accompanied by the young men, fetches the woman and leads her into the new house. There they cut off each other's leg bands and remove their arm cuffs for the duration of the marriage. According to another statement, however, the bride cuts off the calf bands of the man; the mother of the man, however, those of the bride. The bridal journey takes place without luggage. Only after the couple have arrived in the house does the husband have the property of the bride brought and take charge of them.

595 [622] In general the Karajá have only one wife at a time; only the chief may have simultaneously several wives who live together in his house. As has been said above, there is no chief wife, but many quarrels are said to take place among them. When the wife grows old, the husband may send her away and marry a second, younger woman. This is based on the fact that only the older girls are left over for the young men, and that, when these grow too old, they then turn to the young girls.

593 562 The position of the wife is very good. The house, the furnishings, and the boat belong to her; the husband simply lives with her. She also gives her opinion in all matters. The husband takes on all the hard work: laying out the plantings, carrying the harvest home, hunting and fishing. The wife must do the lighter work in connection with planting and harvesting and take care of the housekeeping. The two are seldom idle. The men do not 589 like to do the heavy work. At any rate, the young men, for fear of it, do not want to marry and postpone marriage as long as possible, misled, chiefly, by a few old bachelors. The carefree bachelor's life is, of course, free of all work; one does only what

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589 [587] he pleases, there is no "must." Widowers, too, usually marry again only out of consideration for their children. If they have no children, or if they can avoid marriage in any way, they are only too glad to do so.

● 593 [264] The two sexes take their meals together. In general, married life is very peaceful, quarrels and disputes are rare. Nevertheless, I observed a few marital scenes: In Village 17 one evening the loud shouting and screaming of a woman arose, followed by a half hour of loud abusive speeches by the woman. The next evening the husband came to me and asked me for food, because, he said, his wife would not give him anything to eat on account of the previous day's quarrel. /326/ I was unable to discover the reason for the quarrel. In Village 13, Chief Ilk beat his wife because, on a visit to Village 11, she had been stealing. That is what he said; the others, however, said that the wife had greeted him angrily when he returned from Village 11 because he had had something to do with a woman there; it was only then [587] that he beat her. In Village 7, Kuriší already had his third wife. The first had run away from him, the second died, the third and present one was much older than he and very jealous. On the first evening of my stay she observed how he had twice given a girl tobacco, at the latter's request. As a result, a quarrel was said to have broken out at home; she pulled his hair, he beat her. The result was that the wife departed during the night with her children; I then met her again in Village No. 8. The husband was therefore a grass widower, had nothing to eat, and was obliged to move into the bachelor house. On my return journey I met the two reunited; they were living in peace and, smiling in some embarrassment, spoke of the incident.

586 Divorce occurs in the aforementioned case, when the woman becomes too old. The husband then sends her away and usually marries a young girl. Thus, in Village No. 5 the husband sent his old wife to São José to her brother and married a younger one. He kept the children; he was obliged to go on providing the older wife with food supplies. The mother of the wife supervises the separation of the spouses; both parties turn to her if one no

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000 go fishing, but loitered around me in the camp). Children obey
593 their parents implicitly, and even adults still unquestioningly follow the advice of their mothers. Thus, Pedro's mother gave him the following good advice on his journey (Pedro was a widower with three children): Do not lend money (Pedro therefore flatly refused the attempts to borrow on the part of other comrades, with the argument that his mother had forbidden it); do not bring back a wife (in this respect, too, Pedro obeyed his mother and refused several attempts at matchmaking); men who run after women grow lean, but a person who eats a great deal grows fat.

Legally, too, parents, especially the mother, seem to retain authority over their grown sons. For I was obliged to conduct with his mother the final negotiations about Pedro's taking his children along. I did not negotiate at all with Pedro himself.

859 The result of this rearing is that the children are never ill-behaved and seldom quarrel among themselves; they are merry and gay and soon trusting toward the stranger, without being guilty of rude familiarity.

576 In general, great value is put on dignified and polite behavior. In the huts, the members of the family were separately introduced to me. When, in the evening beside the fire, I
[126] wanted to write down their information, they blew upon a chunk of wood and held it up to me in order to give me light. When they were looking for honey on the way, they always brought me part of it in a piece of tree bark.

514 Modesty is part of the Indians' good behavior. Defecation takes place far outside the village, if possible hidden from the
[291] glances of others. When a girl about eight years old was supposed to sell me her string belt, she ran behind the nearest mat wall, put on a new one there, and then brought me the old one. It is only in farting that they are somewhat more negligent. Loud sounds are greeted with laughter or accompanied by dog-barks. In some places this seemed actually to be good form, and one would outdo the other. On the other hand, foul smells were taken amiss; they would all glance indignantly at the presumed offender and would give expression to their annoyance with disapproving bw and hm̃ sounds.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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648 forest, the course usually adopted, whether the work is done by "secular" agents, or by friars paid by the government, is to select a site within fifty or one hundred miles of the villages of the tribe, and erect the desired buildings. Then, when all is ready, the agents repair to the villages and try to secure a number of boys, either by making presents of knives and beads to the parents, or by kidnapping the children. [593] This latter method was pursued with the Karayá, for the parents refused to part with their children for any consideration. The friars are opposed to having the entire families of the Indians live near their schools. But, on the other hand, they do desire the mixed Portuguese speaking multitude—the ignorant, superstitious, immoral, rum-drinking people—called "the civilized ones," to "live at their feet." These people are more profitable to the friar than the Indians, for they give him much money to perform various priestly functions. But the primitive people have no money; nor have they learned to value these priestly services. Therefore, when the "school" is organized, the young savage, besides hearing the doctrine taught, has ample opportunity to see it exemplified.

127 000 I stayed with a private family at Leopoldina while waiting to descend the river. In the meantime, I occupied myself going among the people, reading God's message to them and talking with them. I had many interesting and enjoyable experiences. I heard, long afterward, that the village blacksmith, with whom I had talked and left a Bible, was reading, or having it read to him daily, and was literally devouring it. It was the joy of his life. He would often exclaim with emotion as he listened to the reading. "Great is Jehovah!" Perhaps few who read these lines can understand the great worth of this Book to this sincere man in his declining years, dwelling at this remote, forsaken and forgotten spot, rarely reached by the fewest printed lines of any kind.

Another man, a visitor from up the river, was ill, and wished me to suggest a remedy for him. I thought that if he would forsake his vices, he would probably regain his

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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where that influence has been genuinely and positively Christian. It is humiliating to admit this; but the most overwhelming evidences of it are found everywhere. How very many sad examples there are that the representatives of even Christian civilizations have imposed a curse instead of conferring a blessing upon their poor, ignorant, primitive brethren! All too frequently, the "civilized" world which first comes into contact with savagery, is of the world, worldly. Its vices are prominent and positive, while its virtues are negative and obscure. Naturally, the uncultured savage acquires the vices without effort, but knows nothing of the virtues, if there be any; and his own virtues, or wholesome customs, become more or less overshadowed and broken down; for the savage man, in common with other men of every race and social grade, is a more apt scholar in the school of vice than in the school of virtue. The influence of the Christ life, on the other hand, is positively and powerfully virtuous. It purifies and transforms the inner man, and exalts and beautifies the whole outward expression of his life, at the same time, preserving and ennobling all that he had formerly that was good.

Many people think that savages, living in a state of nature, intermingle as promiscuously as swine, and without any restraints to their passions. This is very far from the truth, for they have customs, usages and traditions that are rigidly observed; and within certain limits, the inviolability of womanhood is guaranteed; while vicious propensities are so restrained or regulated that the tribe is safeguarded against physical impairment. Unfortunately, this can scarcely be said of many of the civilized people of South America.

For a savage people, human life among the Karayá is valued and protected; and family ties are strong—between husband and wife as well as between parents and children. The mother, instead of the father, appears to be the head of the family, for the following reasons:

The husband does not eat with his family, but instead,

593 The husband does not eat with his family, but instead
[364] with the family of his married sister, and is considered a member of his sister's family. Secondly, his share of the pro-
[768] ceeds of the day's hunting and fishing, does not go to his own hut, but to that of his sister; and, lastly, if his wife should die leaving dependent children, they are taken in charge by her parents and the widower again becomes one of the bachelors.

582 A Karayá woman is not permitted to marry an alien, unless
648 he will become adopted, or naturalized, into the tribe, and will consent to reside permanently at the wife's native village.
593 The Karayá wife appears to be considered the equal of her husband in many respects, for he never takes any important step in life without first consulting her. Even the village chief
[962] divides his honors with his wife. Furthermore, the wife as well as the husband, has an important part to perform, not only in the family, but in the social economy of the village; though her part is to do the heavy, laborious work, while her man does the light and fancy-work; his only heavy work being to hunt and fish.

595 The men usually have but one wife, though a few have
582 two. One reason for having two wives seems to be owing to the custom prevailing among nearly all South American tribes that the young men marry the older women, and the old men marry the young women. Therefore, when the first wife becomes old, her young husband takes to himself a youth-
163 ful wife. Perhaps this custom of the young men marrying the
[582] older women will account in part for the small number of
[862] children born to these primitive races; though another reason may be that children are allowed to nurse until they are six
191 or seven years of age. The custom of aged men marrying girls fourteen or fifteen years of age is common among the
847 civilized people of Brazil. Abortion among the Karayá is
586 practiced only when the husband demands it. Whenever a
587 couple cannot live together harmoniously, the husband is allowed to trade his wife for another woman. If he should drive her away, he will not be permitted to marry another
000 woman, though he may take a concubine. The adulterous

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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woman is punished by her husband either by flogging, or by torturing with fire brands. It is said that she is sometimes even burned to death. The adulterous man is punished by the nearest relatives of his wife. But among these people as, unfortunately, among the higher races, far greater license is allowed the man than the woman. 684

The Karayá seem to cherish an earnest desire to preserve the integrity of the family, and to guard it against disturbing influences of every kind. Children are reared with strictness and maidenhood is respected; and any transgression of the tribal laws regarding the relations of the sexes is severely punished—even with death, in some cases. But children born out of wedlock are not put to death, as is usually done among savage peoples, but instead, are, like other orphans, reared by the chief of the village as his own children. 593 834 848

The unmarried individuals, who are distinguished from the married by the previously described wristlets and armlets, are not required to support themselves, but are provided for by the community as a whole. The bachelors and widowers live together in a sort of "bachelors' hall"—a separate hut—and participate in the hunting and fishing and other occupations of the tribe only as they feel inclined. But the unmarried women, while, like the single men, not required to work, are not segregated, for they dwell in the huts of their nearest relatives. These females are allowed certain liberties with the unmarried men in order that they may not perturb the married men and their families. They are the village prostitutes. By this arrangement the single men, on the other hand, are kept from endangering family life. Women taken captive from the enemy in intertribal wars, are retained as prostitutes and semi-slaves. These unhappy females are the common property of all the men, the married as well as the single. Captive female children share the same sad fate; and probably also the children born of captive parents. 589 836 548 [727]

We see in these customs, the dualism of the "ethics" of the savage. They are moral, if we may use this term, only when their own well-being is at stake—when it is a question 577